

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

January 19, 1802.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

Soon after their lordships assembled, *Lord Pelham* moved, that the House do adjourn 'till Wednesday the 3d of February. On the question being put,

The *Earl of Carlisle* rose, and observed, that, as great anxiety prevailed with respect to the repeated short adjournments, he thought his Majesty's ministers were now, at least, called upon to give an explanation of the cause of such an extraordinary mode of proceeding; and that some explanation was also due from them on another, and more important, point—the sailing of the French fleet and army to the West-Indies. This expedition, his lordship observed, was said to be fitted out for the sole purpose of regulating certain concerns in the French islands; and, if so, it might, perhaps, if successful, be productive of no evils to this kingdom; but, he apprehended, that this was a point not so clear as to preclude the necessity of an official explanation, especially when it was considered, that we were, for aught the country knew to the contrary, still in a state of hostility with Spain, which power, had just sent out a squadron under convoy of the French flag. Such an alarming expedition as this having been sent out during an interval, which must be regarded as a truce, called loudly on ministers for explanation. His lordship said he hoped, and, indeed, that he doubted not, that they had taken precautions, adequate to the emergency, for securing our valuable West-India possessions, though he had heard of no British force being sent to that quarter, except four ships of the line.

*Lord Pelham* replied, that he could not assent to the propriety of such a mode of questioning ministers, on points of such de-

licacy and importance. With regard to the latter subject of the noble earl's inquiry, his lordship stated, that ministers were duly aware of the sailing of the expedition from Brest, and that they had reason to believe, that the objects of France were of a legitimate nature. He further observed, that he thought the interests of our own possessions in the West-Indies required that the expedition should be attended with success; but, that ministers had taken such precautionary steps, relative to the occasion, as appeared to them politic and proper. For the short adjournments of Parliament his lordship said, that sufficient grounds had certainly existed, but that they now no longer existed in such force as to render it necessary for ministers to detail them to the House.

The question was then put, and their lordships adjourned 'till the 3d of February.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that, when the House last met, the reasons, which had induced him to propose motions for short adjournments, could scarcely be said to exist; but, as a bare possibility might be said to remain of the necessity of resorting to the wisdom of parliament, he had thought it his duty to act as he had done; but he was happy to state, that the causes, which then influenced his conduct, were now entirely removed. He expressed his astonishment, that an opinion should have gone abroad, that, on this day, it was his intention to make a communication to the House, on the cause of its late short adjournments. He observed, that, though the cause might be perfectly understood, it might, nevertheless, be very improper to make it a subject of public discussion, and that the silence of ministers, on a great national object, by no means implied a wish for concealment. He had now, he said, described the ground of his conduct in a manner, which, he hoped, would be perfectly intelligible; and, as it did not appear, that it required the interposition of Parliament, the less was said of it the better. He concluded by moving, that the House do adjourn 'till the 2d February.

*Mr. Elliot* said, that he could not permit the question to pass without expressing the regret and disappointment he felt that a proposition for an adjournment to so dis-



tant a day should be made, without such an explanation on the present alarming predicament of public affairs, as he thought the House had now fair pretensions to expect. Near a month had elapsed since intelligence was received of the departure of the naval armament from the ports of France, which he believed he was justified in describing to be, in point of magnitude, almost unprecedented in the quarter of the globe, to which it was said to be destined. After such an interval, he had flattered himself that his Majesty's ministers would have been enabled to have afforded the House the satisfaction of knowing, that a successful representation had been made to the government of France, on a subject which must necessarily excite much solicitude and apprehension in this country. He had conceived too, that his Majesty's ministers would have been the more anxious to have made some communication, because, from any thing that had hitherto transpired, it was difficult to account for so extraordinary an event, otherwise than by some fraudulent department, on the part of the French government, or by some very reprehensible remissness on the part of those who have the management of the affairs of this country. Whether the state of the French islands in the West-Indies was such as to require, even pending the negotiation of peace, so large a military force as that which has been sent thither, he could not take upon himself to determine. On that point he must necessarily give credit to ministers, but surely it could not be necessary that so large a naval force should be dispatched to that quarter. It could hardly be contended that the blacks were in a state of maritime strength, which it required a fleet of between twenty and thirty sail of the line to subdue; because, he believed, they could scarcely produce as many canoes. But if ministers, under the persuasion of the necessity of such a measure, did permit the dispatch of so large a military force, he was very sincere in not imputing to them a previous knowledge that it was the intention of France to accompany that military force by a naval armament of such alarming magnitude. At the same time he could not presume, that they did not endeavour to ascertain the amount of the naval force which it was in the contemplation of France to send out, and if there had been any communication with the French government on that point, and if ministers had been deceived, they had received in re-

plicity on the part of France. He thought, however, that ministers should have guarded against such a case, and should not have permitted the expedition to proceed, without having previously stipulated its exact force. If there was such a stipulation, and France had violated it by dispatching a greater force than was agreed to, it was an act of the most flagrant and hostile perfidy on her part. Nevertheless even in that case he could not acquit ministers of supineness, in not having provided means either for compelling France to an adherence to her engagement, or for immediately counteracting the prejudicial effects of its infringement. But whatever the circumstances attending the transaction might be, the perilous predicament, in which it left the interests of the country was obvious. With such an advantage gained on the part of France, he should be glad to ask with what weight and influence the noble marquis to whom the interests of this country are entrusted at Amiens (and to whom he could not allude without expressing the veneration, esteem and affection he entertained for him,) could press any questions that might arise in the course of the negotiation for the definitive treaty? Whatever might be the state of the business at the present moment, it was an absurd or wild conjecture to suppose that some points of difficulty might occur in the course of a negotiation of such magnitude and importance. For instance, it was not extravagant to imagine, that the extent of the cessions in Guiana might become a matter of controversy, as there had been already two explanations of it, one from the ministers in that house, and another from persons of authority in the French councils, and both different. It would not be contended that our ambassador could urge a compliance with his representation on that point, if should meet with opposition on the part of the French government, otherwise than at the risk of a renewal of hostilities; and hostilities should be renewed, France might recommence them by some important blow on our possessions in a quarter where, a few months ago, she did not possess the means of annoyance. He did not mean to assert that France would act in this way; he was rather inclined to think that she would not pursue any ulterior object of aggrandizement until she had secured to herself the possession of those valuable cessions which had been liberally made to her by the preliminaries of peace. But she might form such a formidable dépôt of naval force in the western hemisphere as would oblige Great-Britain





to maintain an equal degree of maritime strength there, and expose the country to the expense and other multiplied inconveniences of large establishments; and if this should be the case, what would become of all those speculations that were so fondly indulged on the cheapness and œconomy of peace? On the other hand, France availed herself of all the advantages of an armed naval force; and had already acquired a temporary superiority, at least in that portion of the seas which contained some of our most valuable possessions. These benefits she enjoyed, though the language which she held was little calculated to remove all uneasiness; for she had scarcely published a state paper in which she did not zealously assert what she calls the liberty of the seas, and did not inculcate that code of maritime regulations, which seemed contrived for the very purpose of annihilating the naval and commercial power of this country. This being the hazardous situation in which the country was placed, he confessed he had hoped for some communication on the circumstances that had produced it. After the interval of a month some ships were on the point of sailing, but this, though it recognized some jealousy on the part of ministers of the views of France, did not display any very commendable promptitude of preparation for the resistance of her designs. He had not made this statement for the purpose of throwing a gloom and despondency over the country. He wished only to draw a true picture of our situation, that our efforts might be in proportion to the exigency of our affairs. His object was to excite the attention of the country to the arduous predicament in which it stood, and to stimulate ministers to exertion. The emergency was pressing, and time was swift. We were now in the course of a most critical communication with a power which knew not how to rest. A power which was all vigilance, all design, all energy, all activity. We could not repose even for a moment, in which it would not avail itself of our relaxation. We could not leave bare and exposed even a crevice, into which it would not endeavour to insinuate itself. It was actuated by a proud and haughty ambition, and a furious lust of dominion, that nothing could satiate short of universal empire. Its system was vicious, but it had all the qualities that belonged to a depravity of an exalted cast. It was not to be met by languor, tameness, and submission; and unless ministers evinced more watchfulness and vigour than present appearances indicated,

it was his firm and honest conviction that nothing could save this nation from furnishing to the world an awful example of the extinction of the glory of a great and flourishing country, through imbecility of councils and inefficiency of conduct.

Lord Hawkesbury said, that the hon. gentleman, who had preceded him, spoke like one who wished the definitive treaty to be broken off, and, that the tone, in which he had delivered his sentiments, deprived them of a considerable portion of that high respect, which he entertained for the hon. gentleman himself. His lordship observed, that the notion, which seemed now, as on a former occasion, to be entertained, that, between the signing of preliminary articles and that of a definitive treaty, no alteration whatever could take place in the relative situation of the forces of the parties, without implying an hostile intention, he could not help regarding as erroneous. He said, that he never understood such an alteration to be a subject of complaint; unless, indeed, attended with some concomitant circumstances, unequivocally hostile. On many occasions, this country had made changes in the disposition of her forces, during the interval between the date of the preliminaries and that of the definitive treaty, and on no occasion more than on the present, when a great part of our force had been brought from Egypt, a measure against which the French might, *with equal propriety*, complain, as tending to strengthen the defence of Great-Britain. This, he said, was a subject of peculiar delicacy, and one upon which he could not explain himself so fully as he might otherwise have wished; but he thought himself at liberty to state, *that the French fleet did not sail without previous communication made to the government of this country.* What the nature of the communication was, he declined to explain; yet he thought it right to add, that, according to his belief and conviction, there was nothing attending the sailing of the French armament that manifested hostility to this kingdom. At the same time, however, he trusted that credit would be given to ministers for having taken the necessary precautions to render our force, in the quarter alluded to, not inferior to that of France. His lordship observed, that the hon. gentleman had spoken of the tardy diligence of ministers, without knowing what ships they had sent out, or from what quarter they had been sent. The hon. gentleman had also asked, in what situation Lord Cornwallis would be placed by this movement of the French; in reply to which



his lordship said, that he knew of nothing that could render it necessary for that nobleman to hold language less firm and vigorous than that which had hitherto been held. His lordship concluded by observing, that the speech of the hon. gentleman seemed to indicate no wish for the conclusion of the definitive treaty upon fair and equitable terms, but rather for the entire failure of an object, the accomplishment of which was so earnestly desired by the House, and by the nation at large.

*Dr. Lawrence* said, that it appeared to him to be rather a new and cavalier mode of treating the House of Commons, to say to any gentleman, 'you differ from me upon the subject of peace, and, therefore, your observations are not entitled to respect.' If danger was stated to threaten the country, it was the duty of ministers to examine into the fact; and, if the danger was found to exist, to satisfy the House of their wish and their endeavours to remove it, or, at least, to ward off its menacing effects. His hon. friend had not said, that it was the intention of France to renew hostilities: he had conceived her intention to be, to establish a preponderating force in the neighbourhood of our most valuable and most vulnerable foreign possessions; and he would be glad to know what answer had been given, or attempted to be given, to that argument. The noble lord had observed, that we had brought home a great part of our troops from Egypt, of which movement the French might, with equal propriety, complain; forgetting, undoubtedly, that the object of France in making peace was to remove those troops out of Egypt—a removal, indeed, which, by a stipulation of the preliminaries, we are obliged to effect; so that, to make out a parallel in the two cases, we have only to find some other stipulation, by which France engages to send out an immense armament to menace our West-India possessions. The learned gentleman observed, that the noble lord's illustration would, therefore, have been much less unlucky, if he had supposed it likely for the French to complain of the bringing home of our fleet from the blockade of Brest.—He proceeded to state, that Toussaint professed to be in the service of the Republic of France, that he held his commission from her, that all his acts were done in her name and behalf, and that, therefore, no satisfactory reason, consistent with the safety of our islands, could be given, why such a formidable armament was sent to that quarter. Even supposing

Toussaint to have erected the standard of independence, and that the whole of the island were in complete subjection to his authority, "where," asked the hon. gentleman, "shall we look, Sir, for the use of nearly thirty sail of the line, to subdue a negro-chief, who has not a single cannon floating on the water?" He said, that he by no means supposed, that ministers would fail to send out a force sufficient to cope with that of France, were the two fleets to come to an hostile rencontre; but, it did not follow, he said, that the hostile designs of France would be frustrated; for, though we were to have a fleet of even superior strength in Port Royal harbour, a descent might, with great facility, be made on Jamaica, from St. Domingo or Cuba. Admitting, however, that, by keeping up a great fleet in the West-Indies, our possessions, in that quarter, would be effectually secured; yet the consequences naturally to be apprehended from two such fleets watching each others movements, together with the intolerable burthen of maintaining such a force, in a part of the world so distant, so expensive, and so fatal to our seamen, would render our situation totally unworthy of the name of peace. The preliminary treaty he disliked; but, it having been sanctioned by those, who were better qualified to decide on its merits than himself, he submitted; and by no means wished to break off the definitive treaty. He did, however, think, that some stipulation should be insisted on, respecting the naval force to be kept up by each power respectively, in the different parts of the globe; he thought that some security should be obtained for the return of the vast armament, fitted and sent out since the signing of the preliminaries; which security, he thought, might be found in our retaining a temporary possession of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope. If this were refused, no reliance could be placed on the amicable disposition of France, because if she contemplated no hostile object, if she sought that peace and harmony, which had been ascribed to her views, it was evidently her interest to keep her naval force in her European ports. Whether some stipulation, such as he had mentioned, had already been proposed, he could not tell; but, it appeared to him that Parliament ought to receive early information on the subject, and he, therefore, thought the House should not adjourn for so long a time. He had, he said, pressed this point the more, because he had heard



it stated, that the object of the French was, to make the colony of St. Domingo as formidable to the West-Indies as France is to Europe. Their design appeared to be, to send out more and more of those troops, which the peace has thrown idle on their hands; and, if this design were suffered to be carried into execution, neither the strength nor the valour of our fleet could prevent the invasion and the ruin of our possessions, without the aid of an army bearing some proportion in numbers to that of France, and, like hers, seasoned to the climate.—He concluded with moving, “that the House do adjourn ’till Tuesday next.”

The Attorney-General regarded the speech of the learned gentleman as having no other object than that of irritating ministers to a disclosure of what they ought to conceal, and of obstructing the work of peace. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Elliot) had, he said, in imputing fraudulent practices and base artifice to a power, with which we were treating for permanent tranquillity, acted in a manner little consistent with the dignity or liberality of the House of Commons; and, he must, in whatever way he considered the speeches of the hon. and the learned gentlemen, conclude, that the chief motive of them was, to impede, embarrass, and set aside, a negotiation, which was begun under the sanction of Parliament, and the success of which was earnestly desired by almost the total mass of the inhabitants of this country, a motive which, he trusted, would not meet with the approbation of the House.

Mr. Jones, in order to shew the earnestness and sincerity of his wishes for peace, said, that, when considered in conjunction with that object, he regarded the sailing of the French armament as a speck in the sun. Yet, he could not approve of the conduct of ministers in suffering that great armament to sail before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the terms of which, he apprehended (notwithstanding what had fallen from the noble lord), could not be rendered more favourable to us by the permission which was thus given to the French, to treat with us sword in hand, and to hold that sword pointed at our most vulnerable part: that such was the way to obtain good and honourable terms of peace common sense forbade us to believe. Nor could he give his approbation to these short adjournments; this mode of holding petty sessions. Under this impression, he owned he wished, with the learned gentleman (Dr. Lawrence) for

some information; and he thought it would be perfectly proper for the minister to do away the prevailing rumours, anxiety, and alarm, as well as at once to make some communication, to enable the House to form a correct judgment of the state of public affairs, and to repose, without a dereliction of duty, that liberal confidence in ministers to which he hoped they would prove themselves entitled. He concluded by observing, that if we were now to bear the enormous expense of keeping up a powerful fleet and army in the West-Indies, he was ready to confess, that he should not be an admirer even of what was called peace and plenty—peace without a cessation of arms, and plenty without bread.

The amendment of Dr. Lawrence was put, and negatived. The original motion was then put, and carried, without a division.

Several accounts and estimates were laid on the table, after which the House adjourned ’till the 2d of February.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH  
GOVERNMENT.

*Armament from Brest.*

(Continued from our last.)

That no armament whatever was necessary to reduce Toussaint to obedience is clear from the following facts. Not many months ago, a *M. de la Caze* was sent out to St. Domingo by the French government, and was, by Toussaint, immediately installed as governor of the Spanish part of the island, an office to which he had been appointed by Buonaparté, and which he holds at this time, his residence being in the city of Santo Domingo. Some frauds, on the custom-house of Cape François, and other parts of the island, having been attributed to the American traders, it has, within these six months, been thought necessary to oblige the ships from the United States to produce certificates of the real value of their cargoes at the place of shipment; and these certificates are given by the commercial agents of the Republic of France, residing in the American ports, which agents are ordered so to act by *Pichon*, the French ambassador in America, who gives public notice of his having issued such orders \*. We have now before us a

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\* To enable our readers to judge for themselves, we here insert the notice given by *Pichon*.

“Notice is hereby given, to Merchants trading to the Island of St. Domingo, That the government of



proclamation published by Toussaint, dated 16th Brumaire, 9th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible (7th Nov. 1801) and concluding *au nom de la République Française*. To this proclamation is subjoined a decree, signed by Toussaint, permitting free trade to the colony, in French vessels, or vessels of neutral powers, or powers in alliance with France. After the statement of these facts, great indeed must be that credulity, or that obstinacy, which would still regard Toussaint as the chief of a revolt, requiring a fleet and army to reduce it to obedience.

That very little force can be wanted to assist Toussaint in restoring the blacks to their former state of obedience and servitude is a position, which is also perfectly established by well-known facts. A revolt against his authority took place in the month of October last, of which revolt he has published a narrative, dated (according to the Christian calendar) 4th November, 1801. From this narrative we learn, that the blacks, in the northern part of the colony, taking advantage of a sort of tour, which he was making to the south, began an insurrection, which, "in the name of the French government," he completely quelled in the space of fourteen days, though, when he first heard of it, he was more than a hundred miles from the spot where the insurgents were assembled. He describes the "rebels" as being a cowardly and wretched banditti, who fled at the approach of his troops. He concludes in these words:—"Tranquillity is now established.—The most positive orders have been given that the works of the plantations should be carried on with the greatest vigour; that no inconvenience should accrue to persons or property, and that the smallest attempt upon the public peace be most exemplarily punished; and all my cares and attention shall be directed, to prevent any evil effect upon the public confidence from this fatal event."

"the said island, in order to provide against the fraudulent entries and declarations made by traders, with the view of evading the duties laid on the value of goods, have desired the commercial agents of the French Republic in the United States, to attest the prices quoted in the invoice bills as conformable to the prices current in the places from whence the shipments are made. In conformity to that desire, the agents aforesaid are directed to give the above-mentioned certificates. Such, therefore, as chuse to have their bills so certified, may apply for that purpose to the French Commissaries in the several ports of the United States."

"L. A. Pichon."

"Georgetown (Potomac,) 7th Floréal,  
"9th year, (22d July, 1801.)"

These facts render it entirely unnecessary to enter into argument to prove, that the reduction of St. Domingo was a mere pretext for raising the blockades of Cadiz, Brest, and the Texel, and for conveying a most formidable force to the West-India seas. That this pretext should have succeeded is matter of astonishment; but, the truth really is, that his majesty's ministers were not acquainted with the facts here related, though they are fully stated by Mr. Cobbett, in his Letters to Mr. Addington, and though the greater part of them were actually in print previous to the sailing of the armament.

What is the *real object* of the French, in sending out this amazing fleet and army, and in what manner they will proceed to effect that object, shall be the subject of an article in our next number; in the mean time we cannot help expressing our earnest hope, that the ministry will not suffer themselves to be amused by professions, however fair; that they will recollect what has been the conduct of Buonaparté towards Genoa, Modena, Tuscany, Venice, and Switzerland; and that they will take speedy and effectual measures, *cost what they may*, to provide for the safety of our colonies, Jamaica in particular. \*

#### Cession of Louisiana.

By the state-papers in this number, readers will find the treaty, which was concluded between France and Spain, on the 21st of March last, and which is now just published. The motive for keeping this treaty so long from the eyes of the world, evidently was, to prevent the ratification of the cession of Louisiana from being known, 'till peace was made between France and Great-Britain. This cession, the consequences of which were glanced at in Mr. Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury, is of the greatest importance, whether considered as to the facility which it gives the French of invading Mexico, or of domineering over the United States of America. The views of France in extorting Louisiana from Spain are tolerably well developed by Moreau de St. Mery,

\* We have the satisfaction to learn, that measures have been taken for assembling from ten to fifteen thousand men in Jamaica; two regiments have been ordered from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and others from Gibraltar, and our ships are going out as fast as they can be got ready. This is *War*, to be sure, but *War*, though under the name of *Peace*, is better than that destruction, which the loss of our West-India colonies would inevitably produce.



in his History of St. Domingo, written in 1795, he being then in the United States, and having acquired a competent knowledge of the situation and resources of the country, of which we are speaking. His reasons for obtaining the cession are, 1. to provide the French West-Indies with a never-failing supply of lumber and provisions; 2. to form a balance against that military and naval influence which Great-Britain has over the United States by the possession of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; 3. to enable France, by giving her the command of the Mississippi, to extort from the United States of America such commercial regulations as will tend to give her commerce a preponderance over that of Great-Britain. These reasons are sound and uncontrovertible. Two of the States of America, Kentucky and Tennessee, together with the territory of Mississippi, have, since the navigation of that river was opened in 1794, by the treaty between America and Spain, increased, in produce, in an astonishing degree, and their united population amounts, at this time, to not less than half a million of people, composed chiefly of rich proprietors from England, and of hardy, industrious, and enterprising emigrants from the Northern States of America. These people are cut off from the inhabited parts of the other States by a wilderness three hundred miles across; the only out-let for the produce of their fertile lands is the river Mississippi, of which the French will now occupy the opposite bank, and of which they will hold the key by the possession of New Orleans. When France has once got firm footing in this new acquisition, it will be perfectly in her power to extort from the United States, whatever commercial regulations may be subservient to her views of injuring England, or, if these are refused, to cut off Kentucky, Tennessee, &c. from the sovereignty of the United States. If we are told of the counterbalancing influence, which England possesses in New Brunswick and Canada, we beg leave to remind our opponent of this circumstance, that no part of the produce of the United States finds its way to the sea down the St. John, or the St. Laurence, whereas every article exported from the Western States of America must go down the Mississippi. It would be in the power of France instantly to assume the sovereignty of those Western States; but this she will not do; she will leave it in the hands of America, as the sure and certain means of

obtaining and preserving a domineering influence in the councils of the federal city, which councils are already but too much disposed to favour those plans, which she has laid for destroying the commercial and naval preponderance of England. Five thousand pounds in arms and ammunition, sent to Bowles, the Indian chief, and two thousand British soldiers, sent to take possession of New Orleans, would have effectually guarded us against this threatening evil; but, even so trifling an expedition never could be obtained, though it was earnestly and repeatedly requested from his majesty's present ministers, who were made fully acquainted with the importance of the object. They were resolved to shut their eyes on every thing but peace.

The possession of Louisiana, while it commands America, on one side, opens the road to Mexico, on the other. To the conquest of this latter country there is now no obstacle sufficient to deter a battalion of raw militia, much less an army of those veteran and marauding sans-culottes, who have plundered the continent of Europe from Amsterdam to Naples, and who will feel little remorse in adding the blood of a few thousands of enervated Spaniards to the rivers that they have already shed.

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#### STATE PAPERS.

*Message of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress.*

*December 8, 1801.*

Sir,

The circumstances under which we find ourselves at this place, rendering inconvenient the mode heretofore practised, of making by personal address the first communications between the legislative and executive branches, I have adopted that by message, as used on all subsequent occasions through the session.—In doing this, I have had principal regard to the convenience of the legislature, to the economy of their time, to their relief from the embarrassment of immediate answers, on subjects not yet fully before them, and to the benefits thence resulting to the public affairs.—Trusting that a procedure founded in these motives will meet their approbation, I beg leave, through you, Sir, to communicate the enclosed message with the documents accompanying it, to the honourable the House of Representatives; and pray you to accept, for yourself and them the homage of my high respect and consideration.

*Th. Jefferson.*

*The Honourable the Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

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*Fellow-Citizen of the Senate, and House of Representatives,*

It is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that on meeting the great council of our nation, I am



able to announce to them, on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles which have for so many years afflicted our sister-nations, have at length come to an end; and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being, who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound, with peculiar gratitude to be thankful to him that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practise and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts. The assurances, indeed, of friendly disposition received from all the powers, with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed; but a cessation of irregularities which had affected the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence, and strengthens at the same time, the hope, that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candour, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurances for the future.

Among our Indian neighbours, also, a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails; and I am happy to inform you, that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements and the practice of husbandry, and of the household arts, have not been without success: that they are becoming more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence, for clothing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing; and already we are able to announce, that, instead of that constant diminution of their numbers, produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace with which we have been blessed, one only exception exists: *Tripoli*, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had come forward with demands unfounded either in right or in compact; and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply before a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace, but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The Bey had already declared war. His cruisers were out: two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded: and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger: one of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small schooner *Enterprize*, commanded by Lieut. Sterrett, which had gone as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens on that element, will, I trust be a testimony to the world, that it is not the want of that virtue which makes us seek their peace; but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not to its destruction. Unauthorised by the constitution, without the sanction of Congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel being disabled from committing further hostilities, was liberated with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider, whether, by authorising measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on

this subject, that in the exercise of the important function, confided by the constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary States was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty by immediate measures for fulfilling them to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from a stipulation on their side. From the papers which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge, whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measures of their demands; or as guarding from the exercise of force our vessels within their power: and to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are now to reduce the ensuing ratio of representation and taxation. You will perceive that the increase of numbers during the last ten years proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than twenty-two years; we contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country, still remaining vacant within our limits; to the multiplication of men, susceptible of happiness, educated in the love of order, habituated to self-government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances, combined with the increase of numbers, have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption in a ratio far beyond that of population alone, and though the changes in foreign relations, now taking place, so desirably for the whole world, may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet weighing all probabilities of expense, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence, that we may now safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excise, stamps, auctions, licenses, carriages, and refined sugars; to which the postage of newspapers may be added to facilitate the progress of information, and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interest of the public debts, and to discharge the principals within shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated. War, indeed, and untoward events may change this prospect of things, and call for the expenses which the impost could not meet, but sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure, for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not perhaps happen but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of reducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible, and at the same time a salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expenditures: for this purpose, those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revisal: when we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states, that the states themselves have principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid

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before you an essay towards a statement, of those who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration; the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial. Among those who are dependant on executive direction, I have begun the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expenses of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the *accountability* of the institution, have been discontinued. Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed;—and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction. Other reformatations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite, in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public offices is established by law, and therefore by law alone can be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and try all its parts by the test of public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield: considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense, to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it *never may be seen here, that, after leaving to labour the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the whole residue of what it was instituted to guard.*

In our care too of the public contributions entrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition; by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object, or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious and uniform.

An account of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, as reported by the secretary of the treasury, will as usual be laid before you. The success which has attended the late sales of the public lands shews, that, with attention, they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt, will shew, that the public faith has been exactly maintained; to these will be added an estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year—this last will of course be affected by such modifications of the system of expense as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the secretary of war, on a mature consideration of all the posts and stations where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison. The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment; for the surplus, no particular use can be pointed out; for defence against invasion, their number is nothing; nor is it conceived needful or safe, that a standing army should be kept up, in time of peace, for that purpose. Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference, where an enemy may chuse to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighbour-

ing citizens, as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the parts most convenient in numbers proportioned to the invading force, it is best to rely not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until regulars may be engaged to relieve them. These considerations render it important that we should, at every session, continue to amend the defects which from time to time shew themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: nor should we now, or at any time, separate until we can say we have done every thing for the militia which we could do, were an enemy at the door.

The provision of military stores on hand will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our naval preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear; but just attention to the circumstances of every part of the union will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted, for actual service, in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum beyond that you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence calls them into use. Progress has been made, as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for seventy-four-gun ships, as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the legislature for procuring and establishing scites for naval purposes, has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits of some doubt. A statement of the expenses already incurred, on that subject, shall be laid before you. I have in certain cases suspended or slackened these expenditures, that the legislature may determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated. The works at this place are among those permitted to go on: and five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here; where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the executive administration, as well as of its agents, and where yourselves also, will be guided by your own view, in the legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary.—They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels as whatever belongs to them, as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning. Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also into sound condition. As a superintending officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the executive, will be a more proper subject for legislation. A communication will also be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbours, more or less advanced, present considerations of great difficulty, while some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection, and the importance of the points within it; others are so extensive, will cost so much in their first erection, so much in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced, or projected, of the expenses already incurred, and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.



*Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are then most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed; if in the course of your observations or inquiries, they should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention. We cannot indeed but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difference under which our carrying trade will soon be placed; how far it can be relieved, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.*

The judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of Congress, and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several States, and now lay before Congress an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were brought into their aid.

And while on the judiciary organization, it will be worthy your consideration, whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries, has been extended to the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value we ought further to consider whether that is sufficiently secured in those States where they are named by a marshal depending on executive will, or designated by the court, or by the officers dependant on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of fourteen years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it; and controls a policy pursued from their first settlement, by many of these states, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The constitution indeed has wisely provided, that for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required sufficient to develop character and design, but might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a *bona fide* purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us?—with restrictions perhaps to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavour should be spared to detect and suppress it.

These, fellow-citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought of importance to be submitted to your consideration at this time; some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the union. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment, how to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence and temperance of your discussions will promote within your own walls, that conciliation which so much befriends rational conclusion: and by its example, will encourage among our constituents that progress of opinion

which is tending to unite them in objects and in will.

That all should be satisfied with any one order of things, is not to be expected; but I indulge the pleasing persuasion, that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their constitutional form and equilibrium; to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home; to establish principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and property, and to reduce expenses to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

Th. Jefferson.

#### *Treaty between France and Spain.*

[The preamble to this treaty runs in the usual words. It was signed at Madrid, on the 21st of March, 1801.]

Art. I. The reigning Duke of Parma renounces forever, for himself and his heirs, the Dutchy of Parma, with all its dependencies, in favour of the French Republic, and his Catholic Majesty shall guarantee this renunciation. The Grand Dutchy of Tuscany, which the Grand Duke in the same manner renounces equally, and the cession of which is guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, shall be given to the son of the Duke of Parma, as an indemnification for the countries ceded by the Infant his father, and in consequence of another treaty concluded formerly between his Catholic Majesty and the French Republic.

II. The Prince of Parma will go to Florence, where he will be acknowledged Sovereign of all the possessions which belong to the Grand Dutchy, and receive from the constituted authorities the keys of the forts, and the oath of fidelity will be taken to him as Sovereign. The first Consul will exert his authority, in order that these acts may be peaceably executed.

III. The Prince of Parma will be acknowledged King, with all the honour due to his rank. The First Consul shall acknowledge him, and shall cause him to be so considered by the other powers of Europe. The measures necessary for this purpose shall be taken before the Prince takes possession.

IV. The part of the Isle of Elba which belongs to Tuscany, and depends upon that State, shall remain to the French Republic; and the First Consul shall give as an indemnity to the King of Tuscany the country of Piombino, which belongs to the King of Naples.

V. As this treaty originates from that which has been concluded between the First Consul and his Catholic Majesty, and by which the King cedes to France the possession of Louisiana, the contracting parties agree to put in execution the articles of the former treaty, and to use their respective rights till the settlement of those differences mentioned in it.

VI. As the new family to be established in Tuscany is of the family of Spain, these estates shall remain for ever united to Spain, and an infant of that family shall be called to that throne, in case the present King or his children have no posterity: in this case the sons of the reigning family of Spain shall succeed to these estates.

VII. The First Consul and his Catholic Majesty agree to procure for the reigning Duke of Parma, in consideration of this renunciation in favour of his son, proportionable indemnities, whether in possessions or revenues.

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VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified and exchanged in the course of three weeks.

(Signed) *Lucien Buonaparté.*  
*The Prince of Peace.*

#### BRITISH COLONIES.

By late dispatches we learn that the Decoits, a people who some years since maintained a sanguinary warfare with our Indian government, and excited a considerable degree of alarm in this country, are again in arms, and have committed great excesses.

Accounts from Ramghur, of the 4th of August, state, that a very powerful body of these people had made an incursion into that neighbourhood where the convicts were employed in clearing the jungles and repairing the public roads; they brought with them fire-arms, pikes, &c. to arm the convicts, having previously agreed to set them free, and associate them in their intended plunder of the district.

The Sepoy guard made a gallant but ineffectual resistance, most of them being either killed or wounded; when the convicts, with their deliverers, retired into the hill country.

From their fastnesses they have made numerous excursions into the adjacent country, depopulating villages, and destroying such property as they are unable to remove.—The flourishing and extensive town of Aurangabad, which in 1799 was destroyed by Juggo Deo and his adherents, having been rebuilt and re-peopled, and numerous extensive granaries established there, has been again plundered, and reduced to ashes by the Decoits.

The leader of this banditti is a man of distinguished talent, who formerly enjoyed high rank in the army of the late Nabob of the Carnatic, but in consequence of some offence committed against the English, he threw up his situation the better to indulge his revenge. He appears to have fomented the troubles in the Southern districts, by the dispersion of seditious letters, &c, and his present insurrection, which is secretly encouraged by many of the friends of the late Nabob, is in close concert with the Poligars.

Intelligence has been received that a detachment from Colonel Stephenson's army has gained a signal victory over a vast body of the insurgent Poligars at the Eastern foot of the Gauts: this action took place early in August, but the particulars have not transpired.

The Rannee, or Princess of Delle, who was confined at Dindigul by the India Company, on suspicion of having assisted the insurgent Poligars, has offered, as her ransom, a lac of pagodas, and a very considerable yearly tribute in the event of her being restored to her sovereignty. This unfortunate Princess likewise engages to give up those who seduced her to hostility against the Company, and make the surrender of her country to them the consequence of any future misconduct on her part. These terms, however, have not been accepted; as, prior to any accommodation, we understand it is insinuated, that her conduct shall undergo an investigation before the Supreme Government of Bengal.

In Jamaica, from whence we have letters of 1st of December, the news of the peace had produced no very pleasing sensations. Men of reflection foresaw what has happened; and in a letter, dated Kingston, 27th November, which is now before us, the writer expresses a hope, that no French army will be suffered to go out to re-inforce Toussaint, and predicts, that, should that be the case, Jamaica would be exposed to great danger.

#### FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, January 25.—Buonaparté was still at Lyons, on the 23d of January, where he had collected around him deputies from the Cisalpine, Ligurian, and Helvetian Republics, and from the kingdom of Etruria; and where he was employed in graciously listening to the adulatory odes and orations of a set of the most despicable slaves that ever disgraced the human form. The language of Paris, in the mean while, has not been quite so adulatory. It appears, that a writer named *Fouilhoux*, has, for some little time past, published a sort of periodical handbill, in which he has spoken of the Grand Consul, his connections, and his comrades, in a style, of which they did not approve. As far as we can gather, from a public notice of the minister of the police, Fouilhoux had promulgated some truths, which were not generally known, but which were very interesting, and not perfectly well calculated to keep the people in a salutary state of ignorance, with respect to the characters and conduct of their rulers. The minister of police obligingly tells us, that for some time, he thought this *libeller*, was beneath his notice; but, that, perceiving many weak



people, particularly certain stupid foreigners, lately arrived at Paris, to be deceived by these "secret anecdotes," (of which, by the by, we wish we had a complete copy), he thought it necessary to put a stop to the scandal, and that he has, therefore, seized poor Fouilhoux, whom he has *fouillé*, that is to say, he has rummaged his pockets, his drawers, and his papers, in which he has found the list of subscribers to the hand-bill, amongst whom are not a small number of *foreign gulls*, pointing not very indirectly at those who have lately gone from London to Paris. What will become of poor Fouilhoux, citizen Fouché forgets to tell us; but we doubt not that effectual means will be taken to prevent him from blabbing in future.

*Amiens, January 21.*—The Spanish plenipotentiary has arrived at Paris; but will proceed no further 'till Buonaparté and Talleyrand return from Lyons, which, it is expected, they will do in the course of a few weeks. In the mean while, the definitive treaty goes briskly on, and may, possibly, be concluded before the middle of March. It is said, that Spain demands the restitution of Trinidad; if she makes this demand, she makes it at the instigation of France, and it needs no ghost to tell us what will be the consequence. Indeed we should feel little regret at the giving up of this island, the possession of which, considering its uncultivated state, and its exposure to the invasion of the French, is not worth the amount of our diplomatic expenses for a single day.

*Lyons, January 17.*—Talleyrand, the pious Talleyrand, the ci-devant guardian of the holy oil, has, in an answer given to one of the slavish addresses of the Lyonese, assured them, that the emperor of Russia has expressed his earnest desire to enter into the most liberal commercial connections with the republic of France.

In an answer, which Buonaparté has given to the merchants of Bourdeaux, he expresses his intention of visiting that city.

*Vienna, December 23.*—By several specific edicts, it has been forbidden, under the severest penalties, to print the most trivial thing without previously submitting the manuscript to the censors, the chief department of which has been lately united to that of the minister of police; and, consequently, the police of Vienna directing its attention to the execution of the existing laws in respect of the publications, has discovered in the genealogical tables of two pocket alman-

nacks, an article contrary to the present state of things in France, and which appears not to have been laid before the department of the censors. The two almanacks were accordingly seized in conformity to the edict. The police compelled the offending booksellers to withdraw all the copies from their agents, whether in the provinces or in foreign countries; and the booksellers are moreover to be delivered to the punishment of the laws, according to the degree of offence with which they may be charged.—*An article contrary to the present state of things in France!* This article styles Louis the XVIII. king of France; and this is an offence, for which the booksellers of an emperor are to be punished! Voltaire truly said, that monarchical government never could die but by suicide; and if this be not an act of suicide in the government of Austria, we know nothing of politics. Far be it from us, however, to boast of our own comparative situation. The cowardly sentiments, which we have lately heard in this country, and the base means, which we understand have been resorted to, in order to shut the mouths of those, who have spoken with horror of the detestable manners and principles, which are fashionable amongst the domineering men and women at Paris, lead us to fear that, in a very little time, the influence of France will not be much less at London than it is at Vienna. Another article from Vienna states, that a dispute, on a point of precedence, had taken place between the Russian and French ambassadors, both of whom had, on the occasion, sent off couriers to their respective courts. It appears, that the Frenchman had come into the same chamber where the other foreign ministers were assembled, and, instead of waiting to take his turn in entering into the presence, had rushed in before any of the rest. This was resented by the Russian; but the affair was accommodated by the court of Vienna, who, not daring to disapprove of the conduct of the citizen ambassador, threw the whole blame on the chamberlain, to whose neglect, it was pretended the premature entrance of the republican was to be ascribed! This is the ancient and warlike house of Austria! "The paths of glory lead but to the grave;" an adage which we always repeat with a sigh, when we view our present situation, and reflect on the defence of Acra and the battle of the Nile.

*December 26.*—The acknowledgment of the king of Etruria will be deferred until the grand duke of Tuscany shall be complete

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indemnified for the loss of his states, and of an annual revenue of 2,100,000 florins.

December 27.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Anthony has returned an answer, dated 16th December, to the Chapter of Cologne, relative to his election. That answer is conceived in the very same terms with that which that Prince returned to the Chapter of Munster.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand is to be married to a Princess of Naples.

Lucca, January 7.—The provisory government accepted, the day before yesterday, the new constitution which has been presented to it. It is composed of twenty-eight articles, divided into three titles, of which the heads are as follow—The government of the republic of Lucca is composed of a college, an executive power, and an administrative council. The college, which is composed of 300 citizens, selected from among the rich proprietors, merchants, artists, and men of letters, is charged with forming the laws, naming the members of the executive power, of the administrative council, and the tribunals, and receive no salary. A third part of it shall be renewed every fifth year. The executive power is composed of twelve *Anziani* (ancients), each of whom shall preside six months in his turn, under the title of *Gonfahier*. Each of the *Anziani* shall remain four years in place. The college shall renew a fourth part of this body every year. The administrative council is composed of *Anziani* and the four magistrates who shall have the inspection of internal affairs, of justice, of police, of war, &c.

Berne, December 20.—Sulzer, Keller of Obriingen, and Gotz of Tachsen, are to be tried before the cantonial tribunal, the general accuser having already orders to prosecute them. An idea may be formed of their conspiracy from the proclamation which they circulated in the districts of *Barken* and *Andelsingen*. The substance of it was as follows.

Liberty! Equality!

"Tachsen, Dec. 8, 1801.

The valiant warriors of the circle of *Andelsingen*, and of *Winterthur*, to Citizen . . . , Chairman of all the members of the constitutional central government.

"Our soldiers have formed an union to redeem their country. We are armed against that traitor . . . , and against all those who have so meanly favoured that base faction. We have declared war in

support of the lawful central government, of virtue, religion, and property.—This I attest in the name of every one.

(Signed)

"Sulzer,

Captain of the Corps."

Under this was written:

"Winterthur, Dec. 9.

"Your troops will march hitherwards this morning at eight o'clock. You will cause the above to be read to your commons, and suffer as many military men to pass as come out of the city."

Basle, January 3.—Considerable fermentation prevails in the country of the Grisons. The object, as far as we are able to judge, is to shake off the yoke of France; but the miserable people are all divided amongst themselves, and all those who dare to struggle will perish one by one.

Hague, January 1.—Pamphlets have been published here openly espousing the cause of the Prince of Orange, and deprecating the new constitution and government. No good is to be expected from such effusions. Arms, arms, and arms alone; there must be swords drawn, and able hands to use them, before any hope can exist of the emancipation of this miserable country.

Berlin, December 26.—The Austrian ministers have received instructions not to hasten the negotiations relative to the indemnities in the German empire; but, on the contrary, to temporize, whilst their court hopes to circumscribe the secularization, within very narrow bounds. It is not probable, however, that this system will produce the desired success, France and Prussia being agreed on the principle of secularizations.

United States of America, December 26.—In our present number will be found, under the head of State Papers, Mr. Jefferson's speech, or rather message, at opening the session of Congress, which took place on the 8th of December last. The new President seems to have resolved on an entire departure from the policy and practices of his predecessors, whom he scorns to imitate, even in the form and manner of communicating his sentiments to the legislature. This was, both by Washington and Adams, done in a speech delivered in person to both houses, which speech was answered by them, in nearly the manner of answers of our houses of Parliament to the speeches from the throne. Jefferson has chosen to communi-



cate his sentiments in a message, sent by his secretary, and accompanied with an intimation that the formality of an answer may be dispensed with. His message is evidently the precursor of a radical change in the several departments of the government. It proposes the abolition of numerous offices; the discharge of a considerable portion of the military, and the dismantling of nearly all the ships of war. The patronage, which, by these measures, he will lose, he will be amply compensated for by the popularity, which he will obtain by the proposed abolition of the internal taxes, including the excise, stamp act, carriage tax, and tax on auctions, the first of which has already cost, in the quelling of insurrections, a million of dollars more than it ever produced. The American newspapers regard him as alluding, in one part of his message, to the adoption of those commercial regulations, which were formerly proposed by him, and which were intended to compel Great-Britain to throw open her West-India ports to the ships of America, a measure, if ever it could be necessary to America, must be so at this time, when she has, in consequence of the peace, 200,000 tons of shipping thrown idle on her hands. That some such measure is already in contemplation seems to be corroborated by the language of those public prints, which are well known to speak the sentiments of the President. These prints were, when the last advices came away, circulating, with great assiduity, the report, which Jefferson made in 1793, and in which he strongly recommended commercial restrictions with respect to Great-Britain; and, indeed, one of these prints, which is now lying before us, openly urges the necessity of immediately adopting such restrictions, until Great-Britain shall, with regard to America, do away her navigation act.—The American States had already severely felt the effects of the peace. Scores of ships had been put up to auction. Real property had fallen greatly in value, particularly in the northern and middle states, which were much more deeply engaged in the carrying trade than the states to the southward. This will produce great emigration to the states on the Mississippi, and will, of course, add to the influence of the new masters of that river. The moment the news of the peace arrived in America, the first act of the traders was, to countermand, in a greater or less degree, the orders they had sent to England for spring goods. This was naturally to be expected; but it clearly proves

the erroneousness of Sir Frederick M. Eden's conclusion, that our exports to America would increase. Party spirit seemed to be somewhat subsided in the United States; the French party had a preponderance before, and the peace appears to have established its sway. Of England no man seemed to speak but with shame, or with contempt. The columns of even those papers, which were formerly wont to exult at the successes of Britain, now come filled with acknowledgements of her declining spirit and of her approaching fall. Such is the opinion of those foreigners, who love us most, and whose interests lead them to wish for our prosperity. Before we quarrel with America, we think it not improper to recommend to ministers to examine into the nature of those offensive and unlawful acts which have lately been committed in her ports by the packet-boats of his Majesty. Two of those vessels have been seized at New York, within a very short space of time; and, if strict justice had taken place, very few of all those, which have sailed into that port, for some years past, would have escaped.

Turkey seems to be on the eve of some convulsive shock. The accounts are various and little to be relied on; but it appears that the government is greatly alarmed, and well with respect to its home concerns, with regard to Egypt, where a most scandalous affair appears to have taken place between the Captain Pacha and the Beg, and whither, it is said, Lord Elgin is going to assist General Hutchinson with his advice how to act in such a delicate conjuncture. We do not like to enlarge upon this subject, 'till the facts come before us with a somewhat greater degree of authenticity.

#### DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

Since our last number was published, more of the mutineers have been condemned, viz. John Allen, Edward Taylor, George Cumming, George Dixon, James Riley, and Thomas Simmons, five of whom were executed, at Spithead, on the 10th instant. The marines of the Princess Royal and the Resolution have addressed letters to their respective officers, expressing their horror of the conduct of the persons concerned in the late mutiny, and declaring their readiness to oppose such unlawful combinations, and to obey their commands.

on all occasions sent to the through have expressed grateful for be singularly confess, tion from Pleased, the men, sincere; receive subject, the Admiralty make the any thing withholding might not marines, signed by ing, that "firm re "our off "think p "to prom This is th and not yield imp our hope this will as to its mind the of those, national, which wa On the jesty's sh midable, dropped ratory to To these which are Two reg the same Scotia; Gibraltar Notwiths tion, all these bur which no print has that "not "the adv "rived fr "which "out to t not call th sible, tha have dict tolerable



on all occasions. These letters have been sent to the Lords of the Admiralty, who, through the commander of the squadron, have expressed their *high satisfaction* and *grateful feelings* on the occasion. We may be singular in our opinion; but, we freely confess, that we have derived no satisfaction from the perusal of this correspondence. Pleased, indeed, we are at the loyalty of the men, who, we doubt not, are perfectly sincere; but we lament that officers should receive letters from their men on such a subject, and much more, that the Lords of the Admiralty should think it necessary to make them a reply. To make an offer of any thing necessarily implies *the power of withholding what is offered*. An idea of this sort might not, perhaps, be entertained by the marines, but one of their letters, which is signed by a serjeant, concludes with declaring, that he and his fellows have come to a "firm resolution to support and maintain our officers in any thing which they may think proper, and that which is best calculated to promote the interest of our king and country." This is the language of a deliberative body, and not that of men, who have sworn to yield implicit obedience. We will just add our hopes, that no such correspondence as this will ever again be indulged in, and, as to its consequences, we have only to remind the Lords of the Admiralty of the fate of those, who corresponded with the loyal national guards of a neighbouring country, which was once a kingdom.

On the eighteenth instant, four of his Majesty's ships of the line, the *Temeraire*, *Formidable*, *Orion*, *Theseus*, and *Majestic*, dropped down to St. Helen's Point, preparatory to their sailing for the West-Indies. To these ships are to be added four others, which are to follow them as soon as possible. Two regiments of foot are to proceed, to the same quarter, from Halifax, and Nova Scotia; some troops are to be sent from Gibraltar, and others from this country. Notwithstanding, however, all this preparation, all these warlike measures, and all these burthensome expenses, the end of which no man can foresee, a ministerial print has the effrontery to tell its readers, that "nothing can more fully demonstrate the advantages, which this country has derived from the peace, than the expedition, which the French government has sent out to the West-Indies!!!" But, we will not call this a ministerial print. It is impossible, that his Majesty's ministers should have dictated, or approved of, such an intolerable insult to the understanding of the

nation. We would, however, beg leave to remind them, that where a public paper is known to be under their influence, they must not blame the world for attributing its leading sentiments to them. We most sincerely wish, that they may be able to extricate their country from the dangers that threaten her; but, they may be assured, that ministerial popularity is not long to be preserved amidst national disasters; and it certainly behoves them to restrain that disgusting insolence, which the True Briton is at present suffered to lavish on the public; for, they may learn from the fable, that nothing is so likely to rouse the old lion, as these repeated jerks from the heels of the ass.

On the 22d instant, Captain Sir Edward Hamilton was tried by a court-martial, on a charge of *tyranny and oppression*. This tyranny and oppression consisted in ordering a gunner to be tied up to the shrouds, for disobedience of orders, which disobedience was clearly proved. It appears, that the gunner was tied up but a part of the time which his crew remained so tied, and that the crew did not experience any evil consequence from their punishment, though the gunner fainted upon being taken down. Sir Edward said, in his defence, that motives of compassion had, now as well as formerly, prevented him from bringing the gunner to a court-martial, he being an old man, and having a family to maintain. The sentence of the court, we are sorry to state, was, that "Captain Sir Edward Hamilton be dismissed from his Majesty's service." Such is the close of the career of the gallant officer, who cut out the *Hermione*, and who has, from the age of eight years, devoted his life to the service of his king and country! But deeds of heroism are no longer in request.

Lord Kensington has been chosen a representative in Parliament for the Borough of Haverford-west, in the room of his late father.

A partial change in the ministry is talked of, and we think it very likely that some such change will take place; but we do not believe, that Mr. Pitt has any intention of coming in immediately, as has been so positively asserted. If we have any wishes on this score, it is, that some change or other may bring to the aid of the government, policy more extensive and enlightened, more firmness, more knowledge of commerce and finance, and a greater stock of diplomatic skill, than are possessed by the present members of the Cabinet. These



points secured, without a diminution of that integrity, which we sincerely attribute to the present ministers, we care not who are the men that any change may bring into power.

On the 28th instant, Governor Wall was executed. We shall, hereafter, give some account of his trial; but we cannot for a moment delay expressing our detestation of the rabble, who, when the unfortunate man mounted the scaffold, testified their savage delight by a loud and general shout of joy, which they again repeated at the awful moment, when he was launched into eternity!!! This is something new in the annals of England, and we see in it but too near a resemblance of those ferocious monsters, who made their bloody deeds the subject of a song and a dance. *Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira, les aristocrates à la lanterne,* was a sound, which we never expected to hear in London; but, we are fully persuaded, that, had the unfortunate man been in a low rank of life, we should have heard of no rejoicings at his execution, though he had murdered his parents or his children—an opinion which is verified by daily experience. "Whoso is wise will ponder these things," and will take special care not to encourage the increasing insolence of the mob. Let it not be forgotten, either, that this is the age of "humanity." We are weeping over the cruelties committed on the brute creation—a sort of cant, which, if much longer indulged in, will render the life of a man and the life of a beast, objects of equal importance in the eyes of the ignorant.

[Critical Notices of New Books in our next.]

#### PROMOTIONS.

On the 19th of January, the Right Honourable William Wickham, the Right Honourable George Rose, and the Right Honourable Charles Long, were, by his Majesty's command, sworn of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.—His Majesty has been pleased by Letters Patent, to appoint John Wilson, Esq. a Commissioner for investigating the Accounts of the Army in the West Indies, in the room of General Maitland, resigned.

#### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

*Birth.*—On the 12th inst. the Lady of the Honourable and Rev. Pierce Meade, of a Son.

*Marriages.*—On Saturday the 16th inst. at St. James's Church, by the Rev. Samuel Peach, Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. to Miss Jane Bouverie, fourth daughter of the Honourable Edward Bouverie.—On Tuesday the

19th, at Upmarden Church, Sussex, Colonel Croft of the 22d Regiment, to Miss Thomas, daughter of George White Thomas, Esq. one of the Representatives for the City of Chichester.—On Wednesday 20th, by a special license, at the house of the Honourable Thomas Erskine, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Samuel Holland, of Great Portland Street, M. D. Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, to Miss Frances Erskine, eldest daughter of the Honourable Thomas Erskine.

*Deaths.*—Lately, at Bath, in her 70th year, Lady Wright, wife of Sir James Wright, Bart. of Hovhoe, Essex.—On Friday the 15th inst. at Bath, in the 5th year of her age, Lady Charlotte Nares, third daughter of the Duke of Marlborough.—Same day, at Colonel McKenzie's house, in Queen Street, Edinburgh, Mary McKenzie, Lady of Colonel Alexander McKenzie, Commandant of the 78th Regiment, and sister to the Right Honourable Lord Scaforth.—On the 18th inst. at Lord Keith's house, in Harley Street, the Honourable Miss Primrose Elphinstone.—At her House, Princes Street, Edinburgh, on the 19th inst. the Right Honourable Mary Clara Lady Elibank.—On Wednesday night, the 20th inst. at her apartments in James's-palace, the Honourable Miss Jeffreys, Maid of Honour to the Queen.—Lately, at Hutton-Hall, Cumberland, Lady Fletcher, mother of Sir Frederick Vane, Bart. Member for Carlisle.—At Kilkenny, the Right Honourable Lady Frances Kavanagh, sister to the late, and aunt to the present, Earl of Ormonde.—Lately, on the Continent, and for whose decease the British Court has just appeared in mourning, the Princess Maria Josepha, sister of the King of Spain, and the Archduchess Marie Clementine, wife of the Hereditary Prince of Naples.

#### PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.—Monday, Jan. 19th, shut.—Tues. 19th,  $67\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Wednes. 20th,  $67\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Thurs. 21st,  $67\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Friday 22d,  $67\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Sat. 23d,  $68\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Mon. 25th, shut.—Tues. 26th,  $68\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Wednes. 27th,  $68\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Thurs. 28th,  $68\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Friday 29th,  $68\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—Sat. 30th,  $68\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ .—AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight per cent. 113. Six per cent. 96  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers consolidé 57 francs 20 cents.

#### LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURG 32 3 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  us.—ALTONA 32 4 2  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—BILBOA 38  $\frac{1}{4}$ .—CADIZ 39.—MADRID 39.—LEGHORN 52  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—NAPLES 44  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—GENOA 48.—VENICE 56  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—LISBON 67  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—Oporto 68  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—DUBLIN 12.

#### PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

CORN.—Foreign White Wheat 70 to 84s. per quarter. Foreign Red ditto 65 to 70s. Inferior ditto 63s. English Wheat 70 to 84s. Rye 36 to 42s. Oats 16 to 22s. Malt 40 to 54s. Pease 36 to 46s. Beans 34 to 46s. First Flour 40 to 70s. Second ditto 60 to 63s. BREAD 15s. quarter loaf. Hops 31. to 31. per cwt. Average of Hay 41. 14s. Beef per stone 4s. 4d. to 6s. Mutton 5s. to 6s. 6d. Veal 5s. to 6s. 6d. Pork 5s. 4d. to 6s. 11d. Coals 11. 10s. to 21. 1s. per chaldron. Porter was last week reduced to 4d. per pot.

N.B. We shall be much obliged to any gentleman who will have the goodness to supply us with a list of the weather.